5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta, 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land, inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée were created *communes de pleins exercice* or full scale municipal councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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[648] that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

[648] By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabit-
[641] ants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original
[161] French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were
[160] French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase
[563] noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. [167] They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they [466] were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the main-[653] tenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe [631] relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the [696] political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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important still a Conseil-Général equivalent to the Conseils-Généraux of the French department but with much greater financial autonomy was established for the colony. However representation was limited to citizens of the colony and not the great majority of *sujets* of the Protectorate. This spurt of assimilation was completed a year later when privileges of local self-government were granted to St. Louis and Gorée which were created *communes de pleine exercice*. In 1880 the prosperous new port of Rufisque, some fifteen miles from modern Dakar, was also accorded these privileges, and in 1887 Dakar was separated from Gorée and also gained them.

This was as far as assimilation was to go politically in either Senegal or the rest of French West Africa. Not until 1944 was there any extension of political rights in French black Africa. Indeed in Senegal the citizens had to fight to retain their privileges against an administration that came increasingly to regret the privileges it had granted the Senegalese in the first fine flush of colonial expansion in Black Africa. Thus until the outbreak of the Second World War one had the paradoxical situation of the French regretting their assimilationist policy and the Senegalese citizens asking that it be applied more liberally. This is one of the main reasons why the activities of French Africans, particularly in Senegal, were channelled not towards the attainment of independence but the assertion of their fundamental equality with the French. Their energies were for long directed to obtaining from the French those rights which in principle an assimilationist policy offered them.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

000 France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Governors resented the control the General Council had over the territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically elected legislative council. Furthermore the General-Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General Council during the regrouping of the French West African territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casamance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the *Cour de Cassation* in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when *originaires* doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

• 646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial.

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote:

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal.

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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powers were limited to consultation on matters affecting the overseas territories. 648

The integrationist character of the new constitution was clear from its preamble: 641 648

> France, together with the peoples of its overseas territories, forms a union based on the equality of rights and duties without distinction of race or religion. Faithful to its traditional mission France intends to lead the people she has taken into her charge towards freedom to administer themselves and to regulate their own affairs democratically, ruling out all methods of colonisation founded on arbitrary acts; she guarantees to all equal access to the public service as well as the individual and collective exercise of rights and liberties confirmed heretofore.

Under the new constitution French citizenship was extended on 7 May 1946 to all French colonial subjects; but in practice the franchise was limited to those whose political education was considered sufficient (e.g. ex-servicemen, civil servants, and the literate or wealthy, etc.), so that of all France's vast overseas population only 1½ million were given the vote. But a number of liberal features were retained. General Councils were established for each territory, though with dual colleges for all but Senegal so that European representation could be secured. Separate rolls were used for election to the Senate and the Assembly of the French Union though a single roll was used for the National Assembly. A Grand Council was established for the eight territories of French West Africa, with members elected by the individual General Councils whose powers were purely advisory and thus no greater than those of the old Senegalese General Council. The constitutional position of Senegal itself was consequently little changed, except that there was no longer a major distinction between *sujet* and citizen. It still remained an integral part of the French Republic. The French Parliament, to which it sent two deputies, still had the final say on all questions of public liberty, and political and administrative organisation. The new General Council replaced the old Colonial [646] [646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The only concession made to Senegal and not to the other territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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VI. TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

The choice of the Senegalese people is independence; they want it to take place only in friendship with France, not in dispute.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR (September 1958)

IT was not until 1951 that Senghor was able to test the strength of his new party at the elections for the French National Assembly in which it gained both seats with 213,000 votes to the *S.F.I.O.*'s 90,000. His success was proved the next year when he won forty-one out of the fifty seats in the *Conseil-General* under the new and greatly enlarged franchise. His vote came overwhelmingly from the 'bush', since Lamine Guèye still retained strong support in Dakar and St. Louis. The party ticket was a popular one: accusing the French Administration of supporting socialists in the towns and chiefs in the bush.

From a theoretical standpoint as we have seen the *B.D.S.* fitted into the new anti-assimilationist trend in Senegal. It represented the 'unsophisticated' bush against the Gallicised *citoyens* of the *Quatre Communes*. It demanded a return to African values and had an essentially African-style organisation in the bush. But few real differences showed themselves on the platforms adopted by the two parties at the elections.

In the French National Assembly Senghor had joined forces with a number of other deputies from African territories who like himself did not wish to link themselves with one of the metropolitan parties. This group was known as the *Indépendents d'Outre Mer*. As a result of the elections the *I.O.M.* gained thirteen seats, enough to form a recognised group in the National Assembly. However they were never able to mould themselves into a united federal party on the lines of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (*R.D.A.*)

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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648 powers were devolved on the individual territories, it is clear that a desire to avoid any ultimate break-up of the French Union was one of the main factors behind the emasculation of the federal executive. French West Africa as a federation might soon be demanding independence; eight small territories on their own would find it a more daunting prospect.

Senghor attacked France vigorously for what he called the balkanising of French Africa by devolving powers on individual territories and at the same time making no provision for an executive at the federal level. The *Grand* [646] *Conseil* retained only its limited legislative powers. Executive action for the federation was still undertaken by the High Commissioner, representing the Republic. By thus turning politics towards the individual territories, France was 'balkanising' the federation, following the classic pattern of dividing in order to rule. Bitterly, he accused the French of offering Africa 'sucettes et bonbons'. It may seem odd that the role of defending the federation should have [665] fallen on Senghor, who had already failed to convert the *I.O.M.* from an association of deputies into a Pan West African political party. But though the R.D.A. was officially a Pan-African party, its leader came from the rich Ivory Coast, and disliked intensely the ideas of sharing his country's wealth with his many poorer neighbours. He was instrumental in securing the form of *loi cadre* that avoided the creation of a supra-government. On the other hand it might be argued that it was in Senegal's interest to ensure that the federation did not break up, since one of [633] Dakar's *raisons d'être* was as a federal capital. But Senghor argued cogently that only with a strong West Africa, containing twenty million people, could Africans participate with any sense of political equality and weight of personality with France in the proposed Franco-African Community. 'Within the framework of a French federal republic, a French West Africa of 20 million inhabitants can, side by side with the metropolis, form a stable element and develop its own personality!

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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theoretician, *agregé-ès-grammaire* from the Sorbonne, at home in any *salon* in Paris; from a middle class commercial family in long contact with Europe, seemed to sum up Senegal on the one hand; whilst Modibo Keita was an aristocrat—tracing his ancestry to the emperors of the great kingdom of Mali, a simple school teacher, with few intellectual pretensions. And so these two countries, so alike to the casual observer, were unable to co-operate, mainly for reasons of history.

The night before Senghor despatched the Mali ministers to Bamako, the Senegalese Assembly in an emergency session had declared Senegal an independent nation which subsequently applied for membership of the United Nations. Soudan, which now called itself the Mali Republic, left the Franco-African Community; Senegal decided to remain as an independent member. This was, however, very much a token gesture, for all members of the Community had now either taken independence or announced their intention of doing so. Several had left it altogether. Consequently it could no longer claim to be the Franco-African Community originally conceived by de Gaulle, and became instead a rather casual commonwealth.

As an independent nation Senegal chose to retain close ties with France. Indeed her politicians and her whole social structure had been profoundly influenced by her long contact with that country, so that any radical rupture in relations such as Guinea had experienced and the Mali Republic at one stage appeared to contemplate, would have been quite out of character. The next three chapters will try to describe first what sort of society has evolved through this long contact and second what the Senegalese hope to do within their independence.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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Wolof MS 30

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* 1ère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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563 is excellently balanced from a tribal point of view. The
• 646 large number of Lebou deputies is accounted for by the fact that the Lebou were the original inhabitants of Dakar, and therefore had greater facilities for education than other groups. The relatively small number of Serer deputies can be explained by the fact that the distinction between Wolof and Serer is not very pronounced. Again, the small number of Fula deputies in proportion to their size as an ethnic group is partly the result of the fact that they are a nomadic people, and partly because they are very close to the Toucouleur who have a relatively high representation. The only grossly under-represented group are the Mande, for though the Mandingo-Bambara peoples make up 7 per cent of the population and have 4 per cent of the deputies, only one of the three deputies in this group is actually Mande, who make up the greater part of this 7 per cent. Both in Senegal and neighbouring Gambia the Mandingo seem to have fared badly as a group in politics. Though only
[162] 5 per cent of Senegal is Christian, five members of the
[771] Government and nearly a fifth of the National Assembly are Christian. Nor does one have to be a member of the majority tribe in a constituency to be elected by it*.

563 A source of possible conflict in Senegal is the existence of
[771] a large Muslim majority and a small Christian minority representing only 5 per cent of the population. The French as the colonial power, despite their policy of assimilation, were unable to establish a strong Catholic Church in Senegal since Islam had been with the Toucouleur since the eleventh century and had already embraced most of the country by the time Faidherbe extended his protectorate. Islam in Senegal is peculiarly tolerant, not only in its concessions to traditional beliefs among more recently converted groups, but also towards Christians. In few other predominantly Muslim countries would it be possible not only to have a Catholic President but to have such a

* I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Foltz for supplying me with most of the data on which this paragraph is based.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.'

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote:

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system.

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority.

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [642] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P-8A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."

[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.

[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.

[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.

[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[p 8 c]

[666] [644] [642] [641] [645] [633] [639] 369

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 [633] other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out [162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

●646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise [645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of [633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 [643] *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893 the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow [652] to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

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633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expresly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and sub-
[642] jects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

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president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans-

FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body.

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of

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646 [648] [657] taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-General.

[647] Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates.

[631] The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

[642] It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

635 634 The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguéré	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,399	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivsouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

635 The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

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Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3¼ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in